

## Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6350

S E C R E T PRETORIA 5574

NODIS - CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIAN TALKS

HAROLD HAWKINS HAS SENT ME THE FOLLOWING REPORT FROM THE  
RHODESIAN WHITE DELEGATION COVERING THE TALKS ON DECEMBER 1:

QUOTE THE RHODESIAN DELEGATION HAD A BILATERAL MEETING WITH  
IVOR RICHARD YESTERDAY MORNING (1ST DECEMBER) AT WHICH HE  
INFORMED THEM HE INTENDED TO HOLD A ROUND-TABLE MEETING OF ALL  
DELEGATIONS AT 5 O'CLOCK YESTERDAY AFTERNOON, AT WHICH THE  
DELEGATIONS WOULD BE INVITED TO GIVE THEIR VIEWS ON THE FORM  
OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. HE HAS BEEN HAVING NUMEROUS BILATERAL  
MEETINGS WITH NATIONALIST DELEGATIONS FROM THE WHICH THE  
FOLLOWING EMERGED:

1. A TWO-TIER SYSTEM OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS UNDESIRABLE AND  
UNACCEPTABLE.
2. A DEMAND FOR SOME FORM OF BRITISH PRESENCE WITHIN OR OVER  
THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT - AND HE HOPED WE WOULD THINK  
SERIOUSLY ABOUT THIS.
3. HE HOPED WE WOULD SHOW BECOMING FLEXIBILITY ON THE FIVE  
POINTS AND THE BRITISH PRESENCE, WHICH MR. RICHARD THOUGHT  
MIGHT BE THE PRICE WE WOULD HAVE TO PAY IN ORDER TO GET AN  
AGREEMENT OUT OF GENEVA AT ALL.
4. BISHOP MUZOREWA WILL DEMAND ELECTIONS OR A REFERENDUM TO  
DECIDE THE COMPOSITION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND ALSO TO  
PRODUCE A PRIME MINISTER.

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5. HE COULD NOT ADVISE FOR CERTAIN BUT HE THOUGHT OUR PRIME

MINISTER SHOULD COME BACK TO GENEVA ON OR ABOUT THE WEEKEND.

OUR DELEGATION, IN TURN, TOLD MR. RICHARD THE FOLLOWING:

- A. THE AGREED PROPOSALS WERE THOSE OF HIS AND THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS AND WERE NOT OUR, THEREFORE HE MUST MAKE SOME EFFORT TO SELL THEM.
- B. ALL CONCESSIONS WERE BEING EXPECTED FROM US, WHILE THE NATIONALISTS WERE BEING ACCOMMODATED. WE HAD MADE OUR CONCESSIONS BEFORE COMING TO GENEVA AND WERE NOT PREPARED TO MAKE ANY MORE SUBSTANTIAL ONES.
- C. WE COULD NOT ACCEPT A BRITISH PRESENCE IN RHODESIA OTHER THAN A DIPLOMATIC ONE.
- D. THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD NOT RETURN SIMPLY FOR A VAGUE IDEA OF FLOATING OTHER PEOPLES' NOTIONS, BUT WOULD ONLY RETURN FOR THE PURPOSE OF SETTING UP A COUNCIL OF STATE.

THE BASIC BRITISH ATTITUDE WAS THAT THEY COULD NOT AGREE TO AN INTERIM FORM OF GOVERNMENT WITHOUT MAXIMUM CONSENSUS. THEY ADOPT THIS ATTITUDE ON THE BASIS THAT ONLY IN THIS WAY WILL THEY ENSURE AN ORDERLY AND PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER TO MAJORITY RULE. THEY GO FURTHER AND ADOPT THE ATTITUDE THAT THEY HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE OTHER THAN TO SEEK CONSENSUS. A FURTHER PERIPHERAL POINT IS THAT RICHARD IS OBVIOUSLY NOT PREPARED TO CANVASS OR PROMOTE THE CONCEPTS OF WHITE MINISTERS FOR THE SECURITY MINISTRIES AND A WHITE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

FOLLOWING THE ABOVE EXCHANGE, RICHARD THEN SAID (AND THIS COULD BE A SORT OF BLACKMAIL) THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN ENGLAND WOULD BE UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND OUR ATTITUDE AS IN A CERTAIN MEASURE IT WOULD SEEM THAT HAVING BITTEN THE BULLET AND ACCEPTED MAJORITY RULE WITHIN TWO YEARS, WE WERE NOW MERELY QUIBBLING ON MATTERS WHICH WERE PURELY MECHANICALS. WE REPLIED THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WAS NOT, AS HE THOUGHT, MERELY A MECHANICAL DEVICE FOR TRANSFERRING POWER, BUT WAS AN ESSENTIAL AND VITAL PART OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT, BECAUSE IT WOULD, AMONGST OTHER, GIVE THE WHITES AND THE MODERATE BLACKS, THE OPPORTUNITY OF SEEING IN WHICH DIRECTION THE BLACK ELEMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT INTENDED TO GO: WHETHER THEY WOULD BE MODERATE OR WHETHER THEY WOULD TURN INTO MACHELS, AMINS AND SO ON. WE

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WERE THEREFORE ADAMANT THAT THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT MUST ONLY BE IN TERMS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. OUR DELEGATION IMPRESSED ON MR. RICHARD THE INADVISABILITY OF PERMITTING WIDE-RANGING STATEMENTS OF POSITION BY THE NATIONALISTS AS THIS WOULD ONLY SERVE ONCE MORE TO WHET THEIR APPETITES AND MAKE THEM MORE UNREASONABLE THAN EVER, AND THAT IF THERE WAS TO BE ANY HOPE OF ANYTHING EMERGING FROM THIS CONFERENCE, THEY MUST BE DISCIPLINED.

ANOTHER ITEM OF LESS INTEREST IS THAT WE HEAR SITHOLE IS DUE TO RETURN TO GENEVA TOMORROW, AFTER VISITING DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA, MAPUTO, LUANDA, AND POSSIBLY LAGOS. FOLLOWING THE PUBLICATION OF MR. RICHARD'S LETTER REGARDING THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE, MR. K.N. MALINDI, THE ACTING HEAD OF THE SITHOLE DELEGATION, CIRCULATED A STATEMENT CRITICISING RICHARD FOR HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND REITERATED THAT THE PLAN OF HIS DELEGATION WAS "MAJORITY RULE FOR ZIMBABWE WITHIN TWELVE MONTHS." UNQUOTE  
BOWDLER

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